

THE COMMONWEAL

*A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts
and Public Affairs*

Volume XVI

New York, Wednesday, July 13, 1932

Number 11

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Previous issues of THE COMMONWEAL are indexed in the *Reader's Guide* and the *Catholic Periodical Index*.
Published weekly and copyrighted 1932, in the United States by the Calvert Publishing Corporation, Grand Central
Terminal, New York, N. Y. United States: \$5.00; Foreign: \$6.00; Canada: \$5.50. Single Copies: \$.10.

SHADOWS OF DICTATORSHIP

MOST probably even Mr. Ralph Adams Cram does not expect that President Hoover will adopt the radical measure advocated by Mr. Cram in an article published elsewhere in this issue. When we say "radical," we are, of course, using the term in its primary and essential meaning of pertaining to the root of the matter discussed, and not in its acquired and confusing use of vaguely indicating something which the person using it considers Socialistic or Communistic, or otherwise socially subversive. But what Mr. Cram undoubtedly does expect is that the fundamental problem which he has so boldly attacked in this remarkable article will be given increasingly earnest attention in these days of crisis, and that his suggestion will be taken for what it is meant to be, namely, a frank and courageous recognition of the fact that in times of crisis democratic processes break down, and that if the spirit of free institutions is to be preserved, the strangling clutch of legislative and bureaucratic methods must be relaxed even if it takes somewhat violent means to accomplish the purpose.

In urging our readers to read and debate the merits or deficiencies of Mr. Cram's bold plan, we also ask those not already aware of the fact to bear in mind

that it is no flash in the pan of a hasty idea, nor written in the spirit which dictates so many effusions to the correspondence columns of the press at present—that is to say, it is not a mere improvisation, nor a mere generalization, but is the culmination of many years of thought and study devoted to American institutions. For although Mr. Cram is popularly identified in the public mind with the art of architecture, thoughtful readers know that he is the author of many books which study the organization of society and more particularly the underlying principles of social organization, more thoroughly and keenly than is done by most professional sociologists. Such readers know that in his essays such as "The Nemesis of Mediocrity," "The Great Thousand Years" and many others of a similar nature, Ralph Adams Cram has been a prophet, crying aloud and insistently in the ears of a people that paid scant attention to either his warnings or his visions of a better order of things.

Like Henry Adams, of whose work he is one of the closest students, he has perceived that the dogmas of democracy have been misunderstood, misapplied, perverted and degraded in the hands of demagogues, and of greedy and venal politicians, and mediocre and para-

sitic bureaucrats, and have been manipulated to selfish ends by oligarchies of materialistic mammon worshipers. Long before Maritain and other voices in Europe, particularly in Germany, France, England and Ireland, began their task of arousing the Christian conscience to its duty of following the teachings of Pope Leo XIII and the present Pontiff, Ralph Adams Cram has been proclaiming "the primacy of the spiritual," and promoting the struggle against the substitution of quantity for quality so rife in almost every department of modern American life.

And there are those of us who know that it was his position as a leader in this awakening of the Christian conscience which led him to take so great a part in establishing this journal, which has done its best, largely through his inspiration, to coöperate with similar movements, such as that led by G. K. Chesterton, Mr. Hilaire Belloc, and their associates in England, and with the group surrounding Mr. Christopher Dawson, whose "Essays in Order," published from time to time in pamphlet or book form, serve as their organ in place of a periodical; and with the many vigorous and even militant leaders of the groups in Germany, France, Poland, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Canada and most particularly in Ireland, who are striving to preserve the true values of Christian civilization against attacks from without and corruptions from within.

In pointing out the leading part played by Mr. Cram in the new movements to give Christian leadership to society, we do not mean that we are in favor of the particular plan he advocates in the present article. We confess that we are dubious as to the advantages which he considers would flow from its application. But as one more sign of a growing desire on the part of many thoughtful people to rescue American society from the materialistic mediocrities who have sat in the seats of the mighty—but have not exercised a beneficent power—for so long, his brief essay is a tremendously significant sign of the times. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, in a speech to the American Club in Paris, gives weight to the reasoning behind Mr. Cram's suggestion, by saying that "we have made a mess of government by somehow managing to exclude largely from public office the highest type of brains and character in our land. If we could only get some politician to go to his political death for a principle, he would be immortal."

In the current number of the *Nation*, that keen if scornful observer of politics, Mr. Paul Y. Anderson, brings evidence tending to show that some such plan as that advocated by Mr. Cram is actually being considered by several powerful groups. He believes that a Fascist dictatorship has been discussed seriously by financial leaders, meeting for the express purpose, in New York and in Chicago. In these discussions, the idea advanced was that Congress should be superseded by a "Coalition Cabinet," ruling the country with the President in command, or, perhaps, only nominally in command. Mr. Anderson thinks that there really exists a chance that some such plan may be attempted.

He puts his case as follows: "Consider the problem that faces Mr. Hoover. If the Democrats avoid political suicide at Chicago, and if the campaign proceeds along conventional lines, the President must reasonably expect to be defeated. The obvious strategy in that case will be to see that it is not conducted along conventional lines. Nothing could be more characteristic of the Hoover mind than a proclamation to the general effect that a state of national emergency exists, that partizan politics should be adjourned, that he stands ready in the event of his reelection—or perhaps immediately—to choose a Cabinet consisting of the greatest minds of both parties, and that patriotism demands the immediate abandonment of all campaign activities! It is true that such a step would require more audacity than we should normally expect from the trembling man in the White House, but he may be subjected to powerful pressure from sources which he is not accustomed to resist. Whatever its abuses, the fundamental structure of this government is democratic; hence I always have believed that the first formidable attempt to change it would come from the top of society rather than from the bottom."

We do not agree with Mr. Anderson any more than we agree with Mr. Cram as to the actual imminence of such drastic measures—but we do agree with both writers, and with a growing body of public opinion, that the inadequacy of the type of men who have seized political and economic power has been shockingly exposed, and that some form of dictatorial reaction against such a situation is more than likely.

WEEK BY WEEK

THERE WILL naturally be differences of opinion regarding the quality of the Democratic achievement in Chicago, but no one will deny that as a political show the convention was grippingly spectacular. From beginning to end one dramatic moment followed another, as the forces aligned in conflict manoeuvred for advantages. The outstanding surprise was no doubt the adoption of a plank which commits the party to repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Many practical politicians will doubt the strategic wisdom of this move. If the nation's antipathy to Mr. Hoover's administration is deep and strong enough to evoke a landslide of votes for the Democratic candidate, it will of course matter very little that groups of fanatically dry citizens in every state look askance at this year's crop of successors to Thomas Jefferson. But—as history abundantly proves—July is not the same thing as November. Nevertheless there cannot well be a lover of popular government who will not rejoice to see that the manifest will of the people has, for once, triumphed over political sagacity; and we shall not be surprised if this bit of daring brings to the support of the Democratic party the good will of many thousands otherwise little disposed to see in campaigns much more

than a change of administrative mechanisms. The hour during which spokesmen for prohibition were able to talk only in fragmentary sentences, by reason of the opposition of the delegates, was epoch-making in the nation's history. It demonstrated, regardless of what coming months may bring, the end of a period of subterfuge and sheer hypocrisy. And much else stated officially in the platform, or remarked from the floor, stressed a note of conviction or of thoughtfulness no longer too frequently identified with the history of political conflict.

THE NOMINATION of Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt likewise has great significance. However much one may have admired the character and ideas of "Al" Smith, however deeply one may have been conscious of the charm of such men as Governor Ritchie, it is abundantly evident that the Roosevelt management gave to the Democratic Party something which it has desperately needed. This is organization. Outside the South and a few large cities, Democratic candidates have hitherto been forced to rely largely upon direct appeal or upon more or less scattered lieutenants. Roosevelt brought to the Chicago convention a machine, the coherence of which in operation was genuinely a surprise. Few trained observers had believed such a thing possible, and it was widely felt that delegations corralled as far back as March could not withstand the pressure of convention debate. Yet despite the bad blunder of an attempt to break the two-thirds rule (a blunder attributable to fear on the part of the organizers themselves) this "new Democracy" held together like the several parts of a good Packard. Even wet enthusiasm and Tammany were powerless. And so, whatever else may be said on the subject of Mr. Roosevelt, it is abundantly evident that as a political captain he has earned his laurels. We who are committed to no party and to no man, simply pause here to remark that he has finished one task well.

ONE OF the many tales told of the late Father Francis Duffy is that after one of the bloodier overseas engagements, he went out under fire (as he was known to do, in bland defiance of regulations, again and again) and brought in, by slow and agonizing stages, a badly wounded Jewish soldier. After he had made the boy as comfortable as he could in a first-aid hut, he started for the door saying that he would go and find a Jewish chaplain. The soldier clung to him desperately and held him back. "No," he said, "don't go. You're good enough for me." True or not, the story is characteristic enough to be true. It is no aspersion on the devotion to their own religious beliefs of the many Protestant and Jewish fighting men to whom this great soldier-priest rendered the corporal works of mercy, often at the risk of his own life, that they instantly felt and accepted the authority of his faith as it came to them

through his actions and character. And this has been increasingly true of countless others, of varying beliefs, and no beliefs, as the years since the war have widened Father Duffy's influence and added to the immortal title, "Chaplain of the Fighting Sixty-ninth" (we do not say transformed the title, for it apparently always was a source of unique pride to him), the enhancements that rightly belong to an established national personage.

IT IS true that he was helped in achieving his extraordinary appeal by that combination of happy natural gifts which, while they do authentically make what is known as a personality, have no necessary connection with spiritual worth. He was a brilliant scholar, a witty talker; he had an almost fabulous physical bravery, which made him a legend among the life-savers during the war, and earned him practically every earnable decoration; and, to crown it all, a handsome, electrical presence, very much in the military manner. "He looked," says the *World-Telegram*, "the way a general ought to look. He talked the way a general ought to talk." But it is by this very enumeration of his natural gifts that we realize that his secret must have transcended them. There were other brave men in the war, even among the non-combatants; there are other agreeable and magnetic figures at home in the world of sports, the theatre, books; to move up higher, there are others—though not very many—equally at home among the obscure and the poor. Yet it is impossible to think of one of them whose death would impose upon thousands the sorrow which Father Duffy's death has imposed. For he was first, truly and literally, a soldier of Christ, serving the altar and loving souls, and many indeed felt that fact who could not have defined it.

SHORTLY after the war, Father Duffy was made pastor of Holy Cross Church, a post he retained till his death. It is in West Forty-second Street, the very center of the Times Square district—and it is not frequented by the well-to-do, but emphatically by the plain people, for whom Father Duffy's devotion has only increased with the years. He must have felt doubly at home there. It was only a few years ago that, in answer to his plea for the acute needs of this church, a very large public subscription, with very diverse contributors indeed, was raised. Appreciation of his great labors in fostering and solidifying the Catholic Summer School at Cliff Haven, New York, is probably more confined to Catholics than the appreciation of Father Duffy's enterprise was apt to be. Yet there is no doubt that the good effects of that splendid and growing achievement are already spreading far beyond Catholic confines. It will be hard to replace such a man, as President Hoover, who valued his personal friendship, has justly said. There is at least a certain satisfaction in observing how widely his loss was felt, and how instinctively it was proclaimed. It is not so much the

utterance of national dignitaries that we are speaking of, the pages given to his influence and career in the public press, the concourse of the great at his vast and impressive military funeral in St. Patrick's Cathedral, the police lines, the half-masted flags, the federal airplanes dipping in final salute—though these have their significance. It is rather the hundreds of his fellow priests who came to share his last Mass, the weeping children from his parish school, the thousands who blocked the streets waiting patiently for their last look at a priest whom they loved.

CONGRESS in session during the entire summer? The idea is not pleasant to contemplate, very particularly from the congressional point of view.

Paying But no recess seems in sight, less be-
the cause of such conceivably dangerous
Bill phenomena as the bonus army than be-
cause the budget balancing operations

may have to be thoroughly revised. The recipes so far devised were risky enough before relief legislation was sponsored; today there is hardly an informed person who believes they will stand the test. It is the new schedule of inheritance taxes which has so far suffered most from contact with reality. The true effect of these cannot be gaged from a few cases, and yet the following instance is, no doubt, quite representative: An estate, consisting mostly of stocks, was appraised at \$19,000,000 in 1930; today the heirs owe the government \$80,000 in taxes! We are assured that similar shrinkages affect the whole body of taxable legacies. Nor have the "nuisance" taxes borne up as well under scrutiny as had been supposed. Legal ways and means of dodging the charge on bank checks have, for example, appeared in number. Accordingly it is thought that before the summer is over the administration will have to revise its entire fiscal program. Many think it not unlikely that the final result will be a vote for the general sales tax, advocated originally by the Treasury, in exchange for some inflationary measure desired by the majority of members of the House. These possibilities are not agreeable to meditate upon, but the absence of all signs of industrial betterment give them a sadly factual appearance.

AS OPPOSITION to the prohibition amendment in the Constitution suddenly comes out of the disorganized and powerless—though none the

Protecting less exasperated—state in which it has
the been for the last ten years, the drys pro-
Drys test loudly that outright repeal will
throw the whole country wide open to

the liquor traffic and that communities that are preponderantly dry, will be as helpless to defend themselves against this traffic as they were fifty years ago. There can be no doubt that the commercial liquor interests prior to the turn of the century did ride pretty roughshod over the wishes of states which desired to be dry. As late as 1898 the Supreme Court upheld the right

to ship liquors from wet states across the borders of dry neighboring states. However, in 1913 the Webb-Kenyon law was enacted, prohibiting the transportation of intoxicating liquors into any state in violation of its local law, and in 1917 came the Reed amendment to the Webb-Kenyon law making it an offense against the United States, punishable by fine or imprisonment, to cause intoxicating liquors to be imported into any state the laws of which prohibited its manufacture or sale. And no longer ago than May 16 of this year, the Supreme Court affirmed that the Webb-Kenyon law is still in effect. In other words, there is plenty of law at present on the statute books to govern this matter. What is needed, is to pare away to the fundamentals, see that these are understood and respected, and that they are firmly and swiftly enforced. Fewer laws, better enforced, is a working rule for our times. It is conceivable that the drys may trek to arid states, and allow the others to live in peace. This however is not probable. The drys would not enjoy working on each other. The struggle against multifarious and pernicious nuisance laws is not over. Weak politicians will still hand them out to special groups. But the growth of a saner, more united public spirit is in prospect.

THERE seems to be unofficial agreement among the great majority of the sports experts who saw the business, that in the recent heavyweight bout Max Schmeling, the German boy, The Mantle of Sullivan was jobbed out of the world title. It has revived the queries, never very deeply laid, as to what is wrong with the prize-ring. There was (to consult only recent memories) the Long Count in Chicago; there was the Foul in the Fourth, in the last Sharkey-Schmeling fight; and now there is this. The answer is fairly obvious, we should say, and has nothing to do either with the brutality of pugilism (now largely non-existent, judging by the bitter complaints of spectators), nor with the alleged "inferior type" attracted to it—never, we venture, conspicuously existent, by fair comparison with similar fields. What is wrong with the prize-ring, especially in the heavier divisions, is simply that too much money is paid to the fighters. The purses run up by the Dempsey prestige and the Tunney business acumen (aided, of course, by the unexampled ballyhoo of the late Tex Rickard, and the ever-growing mechanics of publicizing) constitute a tradition that, in the long run, would corrupt any sport. Sharkey and Schmeling were paid less, of course, but there is always the possibility—so recently an actuality—of a million-dollar guarantee, and that makes the heavyweight title an immense vested interest. That cabals should line up behind a man to capture it, that it should be guarded, when won, by dull and overcareful boxing (such as was the overwhelming rule the other night) on the good old principle of taking no needless chances, seems so inevitable that we, for one, shall express no surprise whenever it is proved to be the case.

THE PRICE OF PUTTEES

IT IS by no means an echo of Mr. Nevins's brilliant paper in *Current History* when we remark that the outstanding successes of the Hoover administration have been gained in the domain of foreign relations. That we have said constantly and have attributed in part to the President's own familiarity with the realities underlying international trade, and in part to an improved diplomatic service abroad. Great interest attaches, therefore, to the sensational proposal sent out from Washington last week, inviting all governments to reduce their armaments by one-third. Such a step would, Mr. Hoover asserted, not impair the strength of the forces needed to insure legitimate self-defense, and would save "from ten to fifteen billions of wasted dollars to the peoples of the world during the next ten years." At the same time broad hints were given that the United States, a pacific nation, would not be prepared to deal more coöperatively with Europe until assurance of "constructive intent" had been given by the leading nations of the world.

Now of course every advancement made toward the goal of disarmament is helpful. All of us realize that another struggle resembling in extent the cataclysm of 1914 would make the present harassed economic state of mankind look like a golden age; and surely most of us are likewise aware that peace is a moral necessity, now prayed for ardently by virtually every group of Christians, whether mindful or not of the papal plea against war. But to endorse these generalities is by no means to approve of all methods devised to effect speedy disarmament. And we feel that the action taken by the President may have been a grave mistake, capable of retarding genuine progress. Here is a field in which the Vatican, for example, has moved with the utmost caution. Can it be that Washington is tramping in where the wise enter softly and ever so carefully?

Two sorts of evidence deserve consideration in weighing this query. First, what would the situation in Europe be if armaments were curtailed by one-third? Here a dual response is in order. The relative strength of the most strongly armed nations would be considerably lessened, not only because of special changes—e.g., the change in the ratio of French armaments to Italian armaments—but primarily because of the loss of offensive power. If France had an army and navy two-thirds as powerful as those now at its command, it could protect its frontiers but, in case of threatened attack by two foes, it could not undertake a major operation against either. Next comes a still graver difficulty. If the European nations dismissed a third of their armed men, the effect on unemployment would be alarming. In the twinkling of an eye, tens and hundreds of thousands of men would be tossed out to swell the ranks of the jobless, and a host of other people who earn a livelihood because the cantonments exist would also be destitute. And it is hardly deniable

that military service with pay is preferable to idleness on a dole, for financial and well as psychological reasons. To be brief: the reasons advanced by Mr. Hoover in support of his idea are by no means as cogent and simple as they might be. One may be permitted to doubt that curtailing the army would save much of anything. It is even more certain that France's consent to reductions such as those proposed can hardly be gained unless some compensatory gain of "diplomatic security" is offered.

Second, it seems evident that European nations may reasonably dislike getting this kind of advice from the United States. The point need hardly be stressed. In theory there is little reason why American counsel should not prove acceptable when good. But in practice? One variety of talk emanating from Washington now usually makes the citizen of a Continental nation a trifle annoyed and hot around the collar. This talk invariably has a moral flavor, not to mention a suggestion that "money could be saved" in this or that way. The aroma is a trifle stale, and seems most discernible immediately after some refusal to discuss really vital economic problems. Small wonder, to our minds, that its final effect is not to conciliate hostile nationalistic moods throughout Europe but rather to set one such mood against another more violently than ever. This fact is, one thinks, evident to all who know the existing state of public opinion in Europe; and the time has come to suggest earnestly that the practice of sending peace sermons to Paris and elsewhere be abandoned.

To be sure, a change in the general attitude of France is very much to be desired. If the Western world is not to break up into a series of air-tight national compartments, each of which will repudiate its international obligations while abandoning its efforts to share in international trade, the French simply must make a few sacrifices. But how about ourselves? Unless all economists and bankers who have discussed the subject are badly mistaken, the United States is far more dependent than is France on flourishing world commerce. We say that we cannot reduce war-time indebtedness. Is it any less natural that Paris should decline to sacrifice a large part of its political hegemony? We declare that mountainous tariff barriers are our defense against increasing unemployment. Can we rightly look upon the Germans as utterly ridiculous when they tell us that giving military training to half a million men would be a remedy against joblessness?

This country needs a good many things. Among them is surely a course in training to comprehend European and world realities. We have become a creditor nation. We are also a people whose ships circumnavigate the globe. Fortune has played into our hands to an extent undreamed of in the history of the greatest dynasties. But we do not know how to extend credit, how to trade, how to act diplomatically. Our conceit is no longer great, but we still perform as if we were conceited. It is all a sign that our observation and thinking are not mature.

THE NEW PORTENT AT CHICAGO

By CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON

THERE is a key to all that happened at the Democratic Convention in Chicago; a key in plain sight. All its confusion, its babel, its apparent irresolution at every stage, its sudden decisions, its back-trackings and its runnings to and fro, seem unintelligible to the day-by-day newspaper reader and radio listener, but they are perfectly intelligible—with the key. The easy escape is to lay the seemingly meaningless uproar and shifts of action to the Democratic party's ancient habit of cavorting like a donkey at serious moments, and that escape has been made by some uninformed writers. But in truth, however grotesque the manifestations themselves may have been at times, the core of the thing was the approach to a climax in a historic epoch. Only an approach; the climax will be reached in some future year.

There was not a thing done, save the adoption of the platform, that did not spring from sectionalism. For twelve years the Democratic party, and in its more moderate way the Republican party, have been striding toward sectional division. The historian can, if he likes, trace the beginnings further back, say to the Granger movement of the 1870's, or to the Bryan stampede at the Convention of 1896, but it did not rise to proportions which threaten historic results until within the last twelve years.

It is a new sectionalism, and the handiest way to state it is to call it a combination of the South and West against the East. For the purpose of that definition "the East" means the states running from New England to Virginia, both names being inclusive, and from Ohio to Illinois. But such a definition is rough and subject to much deviation and amendment. The battle-line wavered and shifted too often in this, the first real test of the division. Southern and Western states would shift over into the Eastern camp at many a counting, and Eastern states, boss-guided, such as Pennsylvania, were found on the other side. The handy definition requires frequent exceptions.

In the combination the South—or the Southern chieftains—took the lead and the trans-Mississippi West trailed along, with the exception of California. The division is also handily called a strife between the rural and urban parts of the Union, but that definition too requires a modification, which might be made by using the words "rural-controlled" and "urban-controlled." For there are plenty of farmers in the East, plenty of industrial cities in the South and West. The Western ranchman, accustomed to "the wide open spaces," hardly regards the little Eastern farms as farms at all, but there may be more farmers in a New England or Middle Atlantic state than in one of the big and sparsely-populated states beyond the Missouri. And,

though in speaking of Southern industrialism Northerners usually think only of Birmingham, Southern industrial centers are everywhere.

In this fight Governor Roosevelt was the candidate of the South and West as against the East. His boom began in Georgia and overspread the South before any other candidate was in the field. Georgia is nearly as much his home state as New York; before he became governor it was his preferred residence, though he continued to make his living in the state of his birth. There was, outside of Georgia, no enthusiasm for Roosevelt, any more than there was any enthusiasm for Hoover at the Convention which unanimously nominated him. But the South and far West stuck to him, because he was the one hope of beating the "industrial" East.

This explains the multitudinous blunders, the backing and filling, the advancing and retreating, which called for so much adverse comment. The Roosevelt boom was not in the hands of Roosevelt himself or even of his chosen manager Farley, but in those of a score or so of Southern and Western leaders. Among them those who got the most newspaper space were Senator Hull of Tennessee, Senator Dill of Washington, Senator Wheeler of Montana, and Senator Long of Louisiana. How this worked out may be seen from the fact that on the eve of the Convention, when a conference of "Roosevelt's friends" was called to decide on policy, there were close to a hundred of these divergent "leaders" present—a strange contrast to the "twelve or fifteen" which Harry Daugherty predicted would meet in "a smoke-filled room" and decide the fate of the Republican Convention of 1920.

Out of this mass-meeting of conferees came what promised to be the most disastrous blunder of the many that have characterized the Roosevelt boom under its hydra-headed management, all this year. It was the proposal to abolish the century-old two-thirds rule and adopt the Republican custom of nominating by majority. Senator Glass of Virginia promptly characterized it as a "gamblers' trick," as "changing the rules in the middle of the game," and that last phrase was repeated by most of the other old leaders of the party who had been elbowed aside by the new régime.

Mr. Roosevelt, who all along had played a puppet part and let himself remain "in the hands of his friends"—his too numerous friends—missed the opportunity to disavow this reckless attempt to adopt a rule-or-ruin policy so as to force his nomination. But his "friends" found that they could not rely on their delegates, who, though for Roosevelt, were appalled at the proposal. The Roosevelt states began to caucus, and, led by Alabama, North Carolina and Iowa, to declare against it. It became certain that it would be over-

whelmingly defeated by votes from all over the Union. The storm of protest threatened to shake the solidarity of South and West and perhaps break it for good. Roosevelt, informed that the battle was lost, sent word to his "friends" to abandon the fight. Even then the more ruthless of them attempted to force a compromise by which the two-thirds rule should be maintained until it appeared that Roosevelt could not be nominated, and then changed to a majority rule. This ludicrous proposal met the same fate as had the policy of "thorough." Such disasters, followed by the senseless fight over the permanent chairmanship, would have been enough to ruin a far more popular man than Roosevelt. The South and West held to him, however, because they had to if the combination were to stand.

In the South there were signs of revolt. Mississippi was especially undependable, but in other Southern states there was mutiny. In the far West only California, led by McAdoo, stood out resolutely against the new rulers, McAdoo going so far as to have himself photographed in the act of visiting his old adversary Al Smith and shaking hands with him. On the other side, there were breaks in the East. In the primaries Boss Guffey had swung the majority of the Pennsylvania delegation to Roosevelt, and in the Convention that state's vote went for the Southern and Western program, despite the presence on it of many anti-Roosevelt men.

New York and Illinois tried as long as possible to play safe and keep out of the melée, though both were anti-Roosevelt by a majority. Taggart, son of the great old boss now dead, and successor to his leadership, tried to swing Indiana against the new combination, and did swing it on some crucial points, but not on all. The astounding spectacle of the three northern New England states lining up against the East is not so mysterious as it seems. It is due to the fact that, before the battle-lines were drawn, and not suspecting what they would be, Robert Jackson of New Hampshire swung his state for Roosevelt against an apathetic opposition. He then went over into the neighboring state of Maine, managed the Roosevelt campaign there, and, as no one foresaw what was to come out of the caldron, swung it too, and Vermont followed. He could not make any impression on Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. When the new rulers proceeded to the almost violent lengths they attempted in Chicago, Jackson became alarmed and pleaded with them for a little moderation, but unsuccessfully.

Three Eastern states stood like rocks against the inundation from south of Virginia and west of Indiana. They were New Jersey, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. They had plenty of support from other states, but there was about them a solid and iron determination, an inflexible and immovable indifference to all odds, that ought to excite the admiration of any lover of plucky sportsmanship.

Thanks to ex-Governor James M. Cox, the Democratic presidential candidate against Harding in 1920,

Ohio was able to stand firm in the main. It was run by a triumvirate consisting of Mr. Cox, Newton D. Baker and Governor George White, in which Cox again showed, as he did when he was governor, the quality of leadership and an inability to get scared. But the weakness of the anti-Roosevelt coalition was the divergent aims and directions it had. Had it not been for Alfred E. Smith, the pro-Eastern or pro-urban coalition, or whatever else you may choose to call it—since both names are, as I have pointed out, subject to exceptions—would have collapsed before the delegates got to Chicago, and such men as Huey Long and Clarence Dill would have ruled without a shadow of protest.

It was the personal quality of Smith that turned the thing from a parade into a fight; it was around his powerful personality that the resistance centered. This, without regard to whether the men who did the resisting were Smith men or not. Texas was against the new coalition, though Texas is so far from being a Smith state that it was one of those which broke the solid South to vote for Hoover in 1928. McAdoo of California, a man who does not easily forget old grudges, was kept out of the presidential nomination by Smith's candidacy in 1924. And so on; but Smith men or anti-Smith men, it was around Smith's fight that they all rallied, and but for him there would have been nothing to rally around. It was another demonstration of what it means to be a great leader, even in a minority, and gives point to Nicholas Murray Butler's declaration that of leaders Smith is the greatest since Theodore Roosevelt.

The platform held, at the time, the interest of the delegates and the public only so far as the repeal plank was concerned. But as the campaign goes on, it will become evident that the question of prohibition will take a secondary place to the question of John Citizen's individual pocketbook. On this question the platform spoke as tersely and vigorously as it did on the liquor question, and its promise to cut down the inexcusable expense of government is just what Mr. Citizen has been longing for. Unquestionably the platform-builders meant every word of it. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Citizen will believe in their ability to carry out that promise.

As for the prohibition plan, Senator Glass scathingly referred to it as a "bar-room plank." The substitute he supported, which was overwhelmingly defeated, was a speakeasy plank. Those who prefer speakeasies to bar-rooms support a distinction without a difference—save only the difference that the legalized saloon was under police regulation and paid vast taxes to the government, while the unlegalized saloon is under no regulation but that of the gangsters and escapes all taxation. The "bar-room plank" did, at any rate, express the feelings and convictions of the delegates, as was evidenced by the fact that its passage brought about the first harmony and good feeling that had been seen during the whole Convention.

TOWARD AN IRISH REPUBLIC

By MICEAL O'KIERSEY

AFTER a decade of suppression the Irish question again breaks through the wall of silence and clamors at the door of American public opinion. Unfortunately the news despatches are far from illuminating, and, as there has been no serious editorial attempt at retrospective analysis, nor any effort to sound the depths of the national resurgence in Ireland, Americans can scarcely be blamed if they see the situation only from a British viewpoint. The perspective on the present situation cannot possibly be adjusted without reference to the past.

On Easter Monday, April 24, 1916, the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin. But the forces of the republic suffered a military defeat and all members of the Provisional Government were summarily executed. Britain thought that she had effectively silenced the voice of Ireland in the blood of Easter Week. She was mistaken.

With the world anxiously awaiting the Peace Conference, she was obliged, as a matter of international policy, to release all Irish political prisoners early in 1917. The Volunteers immediately reorganized and were strengthened a hundredfold by the British government's menace of conscription. The civilian population was absorbed in the Sinn Fein organization, and when the Conscription Bill was eventually put on the statute books England dared not attempt to enforce it. Strong representations were made to President Wilson to secure for Ireland a hearing at the Peace Conference. Wilson abandoned his ideal of self-determination for oppressed nations (though he later secured from Lloyd George a formal undertaking that there would be an early settlement of the Irish question) and the Irish nation was left at the mercy of the British Army of Occupation.

In 1918 the people of Ireland, in the general elections, gave their mandate on the Proclamation of 1916. Every Irish seat in the House of Commons was contested by Sinn Fein on a policy of abstention and a declaration of its intention to set up an independent Irish government. Sinn Fein won by an overwhelming majority, and the first government of the republic was set up, with the Volunteers as its military arm. England refused to accept the verdict of the Irish people, and launched a war upon the republic. The struggle terminated when England sued for a truce. After months of intrigue and negotiation, the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed in London under a threat of "immediate and terrible war," and was released to the press of the world before it was presented to the government of the Irish Republic.

The Free State was eventually established, although it was presented to Ireland as the only alternative to war. The protest of the nation was sealed with the

blood of seventy-seven Republicans executed by the Cosgrave régime. The rest of the story is to be read in the hundreds of wayside crosses, the fruit of fratricidal strife, scattered throughout the country.

So, at last, the conquest was complete—and that, "with an economy of English lives." What was the measure of freedom conceded to Ireland in the treaty? She was partitioned and saddled with the burden of two expensive governments, each subservient to the British government; her harbors and coastal defenses were left in the control of the British navy; a British military garrison remained in occupation of the six northern counties; the British government retained control of aviation, wireless and submarine cables; the British government retained the right to dictate the size of any defense forces that might be maintained by the Free State; Ireland was committed to participation in England's wars; all executive authority of the Free State was vested in the king; the appointment of the Free State Executive Council was made the business of the governor-general, as representative of the British crown; the crown, through the governor-general, assumed the right of veto or suspension over all enactments and constitutional amendments of the Free State Parliament, and provided that in case of conflict between two copies of a parliamentary bill "that signed by the representative of the crown shall prevail"; special provision was made for the appropriation of moneys, which may not be voted by the Free State legislature except on the recommendation of the governor-general; and, in addition, the Irish people were burdened with the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom toward the payment of war pensions, and with the payment of pensions to members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, judges and public servants in the employ of the British government, who should be discharged or who should retire in consequence of the change of government. In subsequent secret financial agreements, illegally entered into with the Cosgrave ministry (one signed in 1923 and kept secret until 1932; and the second one, entitled "The Ultimate Financial Settlement," signed in 1926 and kept secret for nine months) and never ratified by Parliament, further burdens were placed on the Irish people, including the much-discussed land annuities. These payments, calculated per capita, are far in excess of the reparations imposed on the German people. Then, having provided for every contingency, the wise men of Downing Street generously labeled Ireland—a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. But had they provided for every contingency?

Early in 1923 De Valera, as President of the *de jure* government of the republic, submitted certain peace proposals to Cosgrave. Cosgrave, who felt himself

to be in a position to dictate terms, replied by calling for an unconditional surrender, saying that discussion was invited where no discussion was possible. Then, as Paedar O'Donnell points out in his most recent book, De Valera did the thing that will give him his place in history. He terminated the war without a surrender. Instead of ordering a surrender, he issued a "cease fire" order, directing Republican forces still in the field to retire to their homes, retaining all arms.

Ireland had been bled to exhaustion and the flower of her manhood had been swept into exile, but the spirit of the nation is indomitable. The history of the past decade is punctuated by Public Safety Acts, Firearms Acts, Treason Acts and Juries Acts. Last autumn the sullen cloud of revolt lifted in a great national resurgence, which drove the Cosgrave government to the extremity of the infamous Constitution (Seventeenth) Amendment Act, which abolished all civil liberties and brought Ireland under martial law. This act proved to be a full stop. The Cosgrave ministry was swept out of office and De Valera's Fianna Fail party took over control. De Valera's election pledges included the repeal of the coercive measures, the release of all political prisoners, the abolition of the oath of allegiance to the British crown, and the retention in the Free State Treasury of the land annuities.

Mr. De Valera contends that the oath is not made mandatory in the treaty, and that its removal or retention is a purely domestic concern. Britain, on the other hand, contends that the oath is the pivot round which the whole agreement revolves. The question of the land annuities has no place in the treaty. Britain bases her claim to the annuities on the Ultimate Financial Settlement, secretly and illegally entered into with the Cosgrave ministry. She had previously assumed responsibility for the interest and sinking fund on the land stock and had made the annuities the property of the Free State and Northern Parliaments, in the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. This arrangement arose out of the findings of a commission appointed by the British government to inquire into alleged over-taxation of Ireland since the Act of Union. The commission reported that overtaxation amounted to a sum exceeding by several times the cost of the land purchase.

De Valera, on taking office, adopted a defiant attitude with regard to both questions, but in subsequent discussions he proved vulnerable to pressure from within his own Cabinet, and, it appears in the final draft of his note to Britain, he restated his determination to remove the oath, but modified his attitude with regard to the annuities, leaving room for negotiation. Recent news despatches indicate that Britain refuses to recognize the claims of the Fianna Fail government. According to political observers, it is likely that both questions will, by mutual consent, be handed for decision to an empire tribunal.

From the left-wing Republican viewpoint both questions are relatively unimportant and tend only to confuse the real issue, which is Ireland's demand for com-

plete separation from the British Empire. The only value of the present agitation lies in the creation of a situation which will lay bare Britain's interpretation of justice and rally the Irish race the world over. The significant point about the oath is De Valera's contention that its removal will throw open the road to independence by constitutional means, and that there will then be no justification for the continued existence of the physical force movement.

To arrive at a true sense of values, it must first be clearly understood that Ireland is a nation and not a dominion or colony. Had Ireland ever abandoned her nationality, the issue would be reduced to one of achieving the fullest possible measure of political and economic independence. But Ireland has never abandoned her nationality, and has never surrendered her claim to sovereign nationhood. The conquest has never been consummated, and Ireland's claim has been asserted by every generation. National sovereignty implies that the rights of the nation to everything within the nation shall be good as against all external claims and as against the claims of any class, group or individual within the nation. There can be no compromise in the issue between England and Ireland. The only alternative to an enslaved Ireland is a free Ireland.

It will, no doubt, be contended that Ireland could not long maintain her status as a sovereign independent republic. To dispose of this argument it is necessary here to stress that separation from England does not imply isolation from the rest of the world. It is doubtful if there is any country more ideally conditioned for independence than is Ireland. Her boundaries are determined beyond dispute. Her harbors facing to all points of the compass would, British influences being removed, bring her into closer contact with the outside world than ever before. Her natural resources, adequately developed under a national government, and unfettered by foreign exploitation, would make her practically self-sufficient economically. For national defense she would maintain territorial forces but would depend, primarily, for protection against outside aggression, on the wise development of a policy of friendly alliances. Her unique geographic position, which has been perhaps the most significant factor in British domination, would ensure her neutrality.

There are three bodies exerting a major influence in the present crisis. Two of these are constitutional bodies, and the third is militant. Mr. Cosgrave's party, the opposition in the Free State Parliament, has definitely declared for the maintenance of the British connection. On the other side, removed from parliamentary politics, stands the Irish Republican Army, definitely pledged to the destruction of the British connection, and the setting up of a sovereign independent republic. Between these two bodies stands De Valera's Fianna Fail party, which is pledged definitely at the moment only to certain constitutional and economic reforms. De Valera declares that he has now but a limited mandate from the people, but that his ultimate

objective is the establishment of a sovereign independent republic. It appears then that the Irish Republican Army and the Fianna Fail party have the same end in view and that they differ only on the question of means. De Valera advocates the acceptance of a temporary political expedient and proposes to proceed, by constitutional agitation, toward the goal of freedom. The Republican forces advocate revolutionary action.

In the case of Ireland, national sovereignty implies primarily the breaking of the British connection and the destruction of the unnatural barrier imposed by the Treaty of 1921. Now, both the connection and the unnatural barrier are maintained by naked force. England holds the connection to be vital to the maintenance of the British Empire, and she finds the barrier essential to the effectual maintenance of the connection. The question that naturally imposes itself here is: can De Valera hope to destroy either or both of these obstacles to national sovereignty by "only peaceful means"? Has the world arrived at the stage where unarmed men can make good their claim to anything which armed men choose to withhold from them? It will be conceded that constitutional agitation may be, and often has been, suppressed by force. Where then is the logic of the Fianna Fail position? Negotiable things may be secured by negotiation, but freedom is not a negotiable quantity. It would appear that Fianna Fail has lost touch with the separatist tradition, and the voice of Pearse protests above the tumult of constitutional agitation:

There is no truth but the old truth, and no way but the old way. Home Rule may come or may not come, but under Home Rule or in its absence there remains for the Volunteers and for Ireland the substantial business of achieving Irish nationhood. And I do not know how nationhood is achieved except by armed men; I do not know how nationhood is guarded except by armed men.

De Valera may rise to great heights in constitutional agitation, but, unless he is prepared at the climax of his agitation, to adopt revolutionary methods, the leadership of the national movement must inevitably pass from him, as it passed from O'Connell after the debacle of Clontarf. O'Connell failed because, at the climax of his agitation when freedom seemed his for the taking, England called his bluff with the naked sword. The demoralization of the Repeal movement was overtaken by the famine, and John Mitchell testifies that during the black years of 1847 and 1848 food was exported from Ireland, under British military protection, in quantities more than sufficient to have fed the starving millions. The shame of Clontarf was wiped out by the separatists of 1848 and 1868. Ireland had her next lesson in "moral force" in the Home Rule agitation of the Irish party. After forty years of talking, a measure of Home Rule was eventually recorded in the British statute books. Its concession was made conditional to the sacrifice of Ireland's manhood on the battlefields of Flanders, and its operation

was suspended pending the consummation of that sacrifice. Eventually it was suspended indefinitely.

Such an opportunity has now come De Valera's way as was granted to no leader in the national movement since O'Connell's day.

At the moment, the relationship between Fianna Fail and the Irish Republican Army is difficult to determine. News despatches would seem to indicate that a mutual policy of non-interference is in operation. Many people are wondering what would happen should Britain decide to repeat her experiment of 1922 and demand the suppression of the Irish Republican Army. But the Ireland of today remembers 1922. Only time can decide the issue.

Wild Duck Song

Once upon a time—once in Georgia—
I saw a great horde
Of wild duck flying
Like the lightning of the Lord;

I saw wild duck flying;
I heard their wings beat
With a noise like the pistons
Of an engine running sweet;

With a sound like brooding thunder,
With a swift, sure thrum,
With a throb like singing pulse beats
Or a strong, rolled drum.

I saw them flying
Without swerve to left or right.
Their necks stretched straight
And their bellies flashed white;

A hundred, a thousand,
In a great dark swarm
Till the sky was streaked and smoky
As before a storm.

I remember the place:
A wide, shallow lake
Gleamed in the sunlight
Like the cast skin of a snake.

There were lily pads as brown
As an old felt hat,
And tangled sedgy grasses.
The shores were low and flat.

More and more they came,
And their wings beat a tune
As wild as any saga,
As weird as any rune,

Scrawled with ancient magic.
And then they had swept on.
The empty sky gulped them.
They were utterly gone.

And there followed such a stillness
You could hear your heart stop,
Or a dry reed bend,
Or a single leaf drop.

THOMAS CALDECOT CHUBB.

HOW SHALL WE GOVERN ?

By RALPH ADAMS CRAM

"IT MAY be that we shall have to consider some method of putting extraordinary powers in the hands of the President in times like these. The insistent call for leadership and for central planning which is arising on all sides is the instinctive call of the masses for integrated responsibility and power in this highly specialized world of ours." These are the words of Owen D. Young.

At the present moment we find in close contact, on the one hand, a social, economic and political condition rapidly approaching catastrophe; on the other, a legally constituted legislative power marked by a more exaggerated state of imbecility and incapacity than has been recorded thus far in this history of the nation. Under the sporadic lash of executive authority the Senate and House of the United States exhibit temporary and partial obedience to dictation, but with no reliable evidence that permanently beneficial results will be attained in advance of the development of world forces that are acting in accordance with geometrical progression. If, as now seems to be probable, the course of these events completely outstrips the sluggish progress of political activity, then there will be no escape from catastrophe, which may be as complete as that which overtook Classical civilization and brought in the era of the Dark Ages. The question therefore arises: is there anything to be done to anticipate this catastrophic result?

I would suggest that the organic law, together with all man-made laws, at any time of crisis, may be and must be superseded by direct action based on the general welfare of the people of any nation. This applies directly to the Constitution of the United States.

One of the weak spots in the original Constitution was the failure to provide a method whereby at any critical moment the executive would have power to dissolve the legislative bodies and call for a new election on the basis of certain definitely expressed principles. This provision forms a part of practically all of the constitutional systems of European states and is one of the very few points in which these organic laws possess superior merit to the Constitution of the United States.

Under the implied powers of the President, as these exist in the American Constitution, he, in times of critical danger to the republic, may assume and does assume something approaching dictatorial power. I suggest that in the present crisis in world affairs,

Some form of dictatorship, or centralization of governmental power, in times of emergency such as the present, has been advocated for the United States from many quarters. However, so far, suggestions for specific measures have been absent. Mr. Cram essays this difficult task. Some who feel that democracy is doomed, may heartily endorse his suggestions. Others, we believe, while appreciating Mr. Cram's earnestness and clearness, will feel that he has rendered the greatest service by reducing the proposition to realities which show it to be far less attractive than generalities would indicate.—The Editors.

wherein the United States shares at least equally with other nations, the danger that confronts us is equal to that which develops in time of civil war, and that therefore it is the duty of the President of the United States to act outside the law, whereas in ordinary times of peace and prosperity this

law is bound to be held sacrosanct.

I propose therefore that the President of the United States should issue a proclamation, making clear these facts, and that he should then declare the Senate and House of the United States dissolved, or adjourned sine die. He should then call to Washington the governors of the several states of the Union to form a provisional ad interim government, acting with himself and his Cabinet and with full authority to govern by decree until the date of the next presidential election.

This "Council of State" (President, Cabinet and Chamber of Governors) would then proceed to carry out those measures which would appear to be necessary to save the republic from catastrophe and restore a measure of order and confidence. Specifically this Council of State would have full authority to reduce in any measure all appropriations made by the present Congress; to reorganize on an economical basis the executive and administrative departments of the government; to balance a drastically reduced budget by such taxation as they saw fit, with particular regard to lowering the income tax; to repeal or modify the Eighteenth Amendment for the purpose of raising revenue by excise taxes and to restore a measure of confidence in the law; to revise the present tariff law in order to make it primarily a revenue producing measure; to deal with war reparations and the debts to the United States of European countries as they saw fit; to provide such emergency aid to the unemployed, either directly or through the several states and municipalities, as seemed to them judicious; and in general any other actions which commended themselves as agencies toward a restoration of confidence and a bringing into being of a just and equitable system of government.

In doing this the President would not put himself in the position of a Mussolini, a Hitler or any other dictator, for he would be acting with the consent of the chief executives of every state in the Union, provided these chief executives recognized the justice and righteousness of the presidential action. At the present time, the governors of the states are in general

men of character and capacity of a higher order than exists in the case of the legislative bodies, either of the nation or of the states, and it is not to be doubted that such a representative body as is here proposed, representing every state in the Union, would be able to deal with the present crisis far more quickly and intelligently than the present Senate and House of Representatives at Washington.

This action being taken, the President would then declare that the election in the coming November would be not only for President and Vice-president of the United States but also for a new Senate and a new House. The issue would be clear-cut, namely, the support or rejection of the actions of the emergency council. Those members of either of the legislative

bodies (and they are not few in number) who are possessed of character and intelligence would have no fear as to their election, while those who fail of these standards would in many cases be rejected on a clear-cut issue and a better type would be returned to Washington.

Finally, the President should announce that he rested on the decision to be registered at the elections in November. In the event of an unfavorable decision on the part of the electorate and the return of new legislative bodies opposed to his action, he should state that he voluntarily surrendered himself to the courts of justice and would accept without complaint such disposition of himself as might be determined upon.

LOGICAL END OF SPIRITUAL REBELLION

By EDMUND BOOTH YOUNG

TO BE liberal, modern, progressive, forward-looking, enlightened and emancipated from creeds and dogmas has been the claim made, sometimes modestly, by many who during the last one hundred years and more, have withdrawn themselves from the main current of orthodox Protestant faith and life. Their aim has been to live and to represent a "rational" Christianity and to pursue the way of free inquiry in the freedom of the spirit. Their protest has been not so much against Catholicism with its truly logical basis and its properly balanced beliefs, but against a dour Calvinism which, when it has not presented truths exaggerated or out of relation, has rendered truth unlovely and repellant.

In the van of the liberals have been the English and American Unitarians with Martineau and Channing representing them at their best. These two leaders and the earlier Unitarians generally with their rejection of creeds and their substitution of a "spiritual purpose" for definite statements of belief left their movement precariously placed upon a downward-sloping plane and *facilis est descensus averti*. Their idea of a purely human Christ, however great their spiritual fealty, left their followers less rigidly committed to the teachings of Christ and without power to arrest the drift away from what might be considered the more conservative Unitarian positions. After their rejection of a Divine and, therefore, authoritative Christ, a looser attachment to the human Christ became easy and inevitable. With the absolute authority of Christ gone, the revision of His teaching is anybody's privilege.

Notwithstanding their denials and theological inabilities, I think all will admit the fine spirituality of the early New England preachers and poets was of an inspiring type, but in their thought those elements were lacking which could make permanent that faith which

they possessed. So it happens that these worthies of other days are outdistanced in the process of thinking and they have their surviving value as an ancestry in which their descendants may take pride—a reason for self-congratulation and names for a "Chapel of Eminence."

Unitarianism (it may be said without offense) has always been the suburb of the Christian city, the outlying district; yet now it has begun to question whether it is really a part of the city at all. Once Unitarians felt indignant when someone wrote of "Unitarians and other infidels" and resented being classed amongst the goats (and could we blame them?). But now in this era of progress not a few reject for themselves the Christian name with frankness and, indeed, with satisfaction.

It has been said that "a body begins to die in its extremities," and so far as Christian loyalty is concerned, this religious extremity would seem to be, well, almost dead. Not surprisingly, its temporal organizations—its churches—are rapidly shriveling up, indifference being almost everywhere manifest. The old First Churches in New England and in some other parts are merely shadows of their former selves, poorly supported and scantily attended. They are kept alive legally, for it is thought a pity to let locally historic corporations pass out of the picture; and this is said not gloatingly but as pointing out the truth that Christianity without the Incarnate Christ cannot live.

That Christianity out of which Unitarianism has been emerging, that pseudo-Christianity, Protestantism, even though once orthodox, is rapidly going in the way that the Unitarians have gone before. This is due, not so much to the influence of the Unitarians (as the Unitarians say), but to human inability to resist the movements of a changing world without those safeguards and defenses which Catholics know to exist in their

divinely constituted Church. The findings and hypotheses of physical science, geological and astronomical discoveries and especially biblical criticism have shaken Protestant Christianity to its foundations. These influences, together with an inherent tendency to divide, have left the non-Catholic world in a pitiable plight. It is going—whither? The more hopeful expect its renaissance—or, to change the figure, its rebuilding. But upon what basis shall that new building be erected?

Modernist Protestants, who are much like the older Unitarians, have sought to recover ground by crying "Back to Jesus!" and by representing traditional Christianity as a philosophical and dogmatic system foisted upon the pure mysticism of Christ in post-Apostolic times. Christianity is the corrupt remains of a pure faith which died in early infancy. Pagan philosophy and the spirit of the Roman Empire, they think, have completed a transformation that was first begun by Saint Paul.

But it becomes more apparent as time goes on that the "simple Jesus," the "non-theological Christ," "un-ecclesiastical Christianity," never existed in fact. The Christ of history represented Himself as the center of His revelation, and a Church has always been a teaching, a ruling and a ministering ecclesia. The Catholicism of the ante-Nicene Christians is inconceivable, if the Christianity of the Apostles who died for the faith in which they had been schooled had been no more than a vague mysticism or an amalgam of ethics and loving kindness.

The modernists have failed and the choice remaining now is between Catholicism and that toward which the Unitarians are in large part tending—scepticism.

Most valuable to us are the admissions of those with whom we have a controversy, and admissions are now and then made which justify all that has been said above; hence the assertions that the older Unitarianism is not the Unitarianism of today, that Protestantism is not the original Christianity, that the Catholic tradition truly represents the Apostolic faith, that modernism misinterprets and caricatures Christ—these assertions are more than the expressed opinions of a reactionary obscurantist.

I read, not so long ago, a very able and forcible defense of Catholicism as representative of primitive Christianity and a characterization of modernist Protestants as "feeble defenders of emasculated pseudo-Christianity." The writer whom I have in mind was able so to write and to witness to the truth because he had freed himself from all Christian entanglements—even the name. But he did not tell the truth to help the Catholic cause; his purpose was to cut the ground from under the modernist Protestants who want to remain Christians, holding awhile what beliefs and moral principles they will. "The modernists lost everything when they lost their faith in the traditional theological Christ"—so he speaks who is neither a Catholic nor a Protestant and as a man from Mars

might judge in some dispute on some other planet than his own.

One animated by the desire of keeping the Christian name for sentimental reasons or because of his upbringing or his present connections, but without the substance, would not and could not confess the identity of Catholicism and New Testament Christianity.

Such a detached and honest critic, is, after all, but an impersonation of the genius of disintegration which has been operative in liberalism. Fine as are the appreciations and admissions, the ex-Christian of the rural free delivery beyond the city is spiritually and intellectually well down on the plane of descent, at the bottom of which is agnosticism. Near the bottom of the slide is a quasi-religious position represented as that which best becomes a cultured mind. This "new" discovery is humanism. Of the humanist it is said that his ultimate values are the "sum total of all the creative experiences of the human race, as they arise above the average mind and assume their vast and glorious proportions." His values are only and solely human.

And so, with Christ dethroned and Catholicism viewed as a mere, though beautiful, dream, man is left with only the thoughts of man to solace him; in other words, with only natural religion! Yet hardly with that, for natural religion leads to a belief in God and discovers the human soul. Humanism doesn't know. It is agnostic and at times even atheistic. It aspires, but without any satisfying vision. Man sees only what is within his circumscribed world. There is no kindly light shining from without into his darkness to make his way plain. He can only grope, fall, arise and grope again.

In contrast with the humanist there is the Catholic, as logical, or more so, than the former and more just in his appreciation of the value and truth of the Christian revelation; and the Catholic, having first weighed and believed, finally has the witness within himself. For the humanist a work on material science is the Bible, the fragment of a pre-historic skull is a holy relic, a congress of "alert minds" is the Church, man is God! "Man is in his holy temple, let all the earth keep silence before him."

To the questions "What is man?" "Whence came he?" and "Whither does he go?" the answer of humanism at the end of man's age-long search for truth is: "Man is an animal, he came from the pregnant earth, he goes into nothingness." The progress of the liberal is from more to less and from less to nothing. For him life is as if the Lord of life had never entered it, and all he can do is to search with no hope of finding; while he can do what the pagans did—"make a raft of the best opinions of men"—he cannot "await a God to deliver" because he knows of nothing transcending his human environment.

The peril which awaits the religious rebel at the end of his descent is despair, from which by lack of logic and by an arresting of his "progress" may he be spared!

COMMUNICATIONS

TWO VIEWS OF RUSSIA

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: In a communication printed in your issue of May 25, Mr. William Franklin Sands discusses Hindus's "Humanity Uprooted" and Walsh's "The Last Stand." Mr. Sands suggests that Father Walsh is necessarily partizan since he is concerned with principles only, but that he is eminently fair to his opponents since he draws his premises and conclusions from the fundamentals of Bolshevism and Christianity to show their irreconcilable conflict. Mr. Sands suggests further that objectivity although desirable in analysis can lead to a complete absence of principle.

I am convinced that Father Walsh's book hurts the principles he champions because of his lack of objectivity in stating the facts. In this connection I wrote the following letter to the Board of Editors of the Catholic Book Club under date of April 4, 1931:

"I have just finished reading 'The Last Stand,' by Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., selected by you 'as the outstanding book of the month for March.' In your *Newsletter* John LaFarge, S.J., states the book to be 'a calm statement of facts.' I challenge both Father LaFarge's statement and your selection.

"My knowledge of all of the facts involved is not sufficient to warrant a detailed criticism by me of the entire book. By virtue, however, of my representation in a professional capacity of the Amtorg Trading Corporation and the All Russian Textile Syndicate, I have a knowledge of certain of the facts which I believe to be, to say the least, not inferior to the author's. It is to a few of these facts I would address myself.

"I find particularly offensive the statement appearing on pages 62-63 of the book to the effect that 'it came as no news to learn from the former vice-president of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, testifying under oath before the Fish Committee, that the witnesses summoned before that congressional inquiry were carefully coached beforehand by legal experts and rehearsed through question and answer how to foil the sovereignty of the United States.' My firm, Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett, has represented the Amtorg Trading Corporation since its organization in May, 1924, and I appeared on its behalf at the hearings of the Fish Committee before which the witnesses in question testified. It is outrageous that any reader should get the impression from this book, as he well might, that I or anyone connected with my firm coached witnesses 'to foil the sovereignty of the United States.' The vice-president referred to is Basil W. Delgass, described by Bessedovsky, another of Father Walsh's authorities, as the representative of the G. P. U. in America. Delgass referred in his testimony to Mr. Joseph Michael, the resident attorney of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, but he did not testify that Mr. Michael coached the witnesses.

"The Report of the Fish Committee found that under the rules of evidence there was not sufficient competent legal evidence in its record to prove the connection of the Amtorg Trading Corporation as a body corporate with subversive activities (page 46). In setting forth his 'Individual Views,' attached to the Report of the Committee, Congressman Nelson of Maine stated that there was not sufficient competent evidence adduced before the committee to warrant the assertion that the Amtorg or its agents had engaged in subversive activities in the United States (page 91). On the floor of the House Congressman Bachman of West Virginia, a member of the committee, declared: 'I will say for the benefit of Amtorg, that at no place through this

investigation did we find that any of the officials of Amtorg were connected with the spreading of any Communist propaganda in this country' (Congressional Record of February 17, 1931, Volume 74, No. 54, page 5355). Father Walsh should not have suggested otherwise by referring to Mr. Bogdanov, chairman of the Board of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, as 'a confidential agent of Soviet Russia' (page 53) and 'on leave of absence for general Communist purposes in New York City' (page 63). Even Delgass did not claim to have knowledge of secret subversive activities by Amtorg directed by Moscow against American institutions, although Father Walsh apparently would have the reader of his book believe so (page 53).

"Father Walsh states that the effects of Russian dumping of manganese are beyond dispute (page 154), but the Treasury Department of the United States on February 24, 1931, issued a finding after an extended investigation that there was no dumping of manganese in the United States from Soviet Russia.

"In connection with Father Walsh's argument against recognition by the United States of the Soviet Union, he cites at length from the Honorable John Bassett Moore, the distinguished international jurist, but he neglects to mention that Judge Moore, in an address delivered before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York on December 4, 1930, maintained that such recognition had been and should be accorded (Congressional Record of December 20, 1930, Volume 73, No. 16, pages 1329-1332).

"Father Walsh devotes considerable space to an adverse criticism of the hedging transactions on the Chicago Board of Trade by the All Russian Textile Syndicate in September, 1930, but he does not note that the Fish Committee in its report found that in its opinion, based on the testimony presented, 'these transactions were made with no intent by the Soviet government to depress the price of wheat' (page 39).

"I condemn with Father Walsh what I understand to be the Communist governments. One of its earliest decrees dated way I can his defense of the principles of religious liberty. I am convinced, however, that the cause of religious liberty is not advanced and the atheism of Communism will not be defeated by failing to state the whole truth."

LOUIS CONNICK.

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: The Soviet government is frankly and historically committed to the overthrow by force of all non-Communist governments. One of its earliest decrees dated December 13, 1917, and signed by the President of the Soviet of Peoples Commissaries, N. Lenin, appropriated 2,000,000 rubles for that purpose from government funds. That hostile foreign policy, persisting unbroken from that day to this, has been characterized by continuous bickering with other governments and often resulted in the summary expulsion of Soviet diplomatic and commercial agents. These facts are matter of public record. The specific attitude of the Soviet government toward the United States has been revealed by a spokesman whose authority no one will be disposed to question. On January 15, 1930, it became known that a group of American Communists in Moscow were instructed by Mr. Joseph Stalin, head of the Soviet State, in these words:

"I think, Comrades, that the American Communist party is one of those few Communist parties in the world upon which history has conferred a task of a decisive character from the viewpoint of the world revolutionary movement. . . . The crisis of world capitalism is developing at an increased speed and is

bound to extend also to American capitalism. . . . It is necessary that the American Communist party should be able to meet this historical moment fully armed, and to take the lead in the coming class battles in America. For this, Comrades, we must make preparations, using all our efforts and all our endeavors. With this end in view the American Communist party must be improved and Bolshevized. . . . With this end in view we must strain our efforts to forge genuinely revolutionary *cadres* and genuinely revolutionary leaders of the proletariat, who would be able to lead the many millions of the American labor classes into the revolutionary class battles."

The Amtorg Trading Corporation is the designated agency of the Soviet government in the United States. It is owned, controlled and directed by Soviet officials and hence is simply a flexible local instrument for the furthering of its principal's policies in the United States. *Qui facit per alium facit per se* (he who acts through another acts himself) is an accepted principle of jurisprudence. Senator William E. Borah in a celebrated definition of conspiracy has pointed out that the act of one participant is the act of all after a conspiracy is formed. It is immaterial, he says, who held the gun or fired the shot. Hence, I submit, agent and principal are equally subject to the legal and moral responsibility attaching to the common intent.

A Congressional Committee authorized by House Resolution 220, 71st Congress, to investigate Amtorg reported as follows on January 17, 1931:

"It is well known that the general manager of trade delegations of the Soviet government are generally agents of the O. G. P. U. (Soviet Secret Police). There is no reason to believe that a different situation exists in the United States, or that the Amtorg is immune any more than other Soviet trading agencies and diplomatic missions throughout the world" (page 55).

The activities of Amtorg cannot be separated from the general character and controlling purpose of the Soviet government. Its recent commercial activities, moreover, take their color from the complexion of the Five-Year Plan which is not an effort to develop legitimately the internal resources of Soviet Russia but a weapon of offense against all non-Communist societies. This is freely admitted by Mr. G. P. Grinko, Commissar of Finance of the Soviet Government, in his frank statement:

"The Five-Year Plan is a program for the further extension and consolidation of the great October revolution. Nor should the great international significance of the plan be underestimated. For the first time in history, a vast country, with inexhaustible natural resources and a population of a hundred and fifty million free people, faces the world with an elaborate plan for upbuilding a Socialist economy and culture—a Socialist society. We fully share the view expressed in the editorial of the *Pravda* of August 29, 1929: 'The Five-Year Plan is an important part of the offensive of the proletariat of the world against capitalism; it is a plan tending to undermine capitalist stabilization; it is a great plan of world revolution'" ("The Soviet Five-Year Plan: A Political Interpretation," by G. Grinko, page 30). We cannot refuse to accept this authoritative statement from a responsible member of the Soviet government.

The record shows that since 1926 Amtorg introduced into this country 1,534 Soviet agents, pretending they were connected with its business. What that business is we now know from Comrade Grinko. As public attention, however, began to focus on this disproportionate personnel, many of these agents mysteriously disappeared. Sixty-four left Amtorg from Febru-

ary 1 to July 15, 1930, with them Dr. Scheftel, an operative of the Soviet Secret Police. Masquerading for nearly two years as a Red Cross official, he conducted in this country a Communist school to which Soviet employees of Amtorg were obliged to send their children to be trained in characteristic Communist agitation. He was 'in constant touch with Amtorg officials' (Report, pages 48-49). Naturally, when the Congressional Committee began its hearing in New York, many highly important witnesses were missing—they had been "transferred" or were "on vacation."

About ten days before the Congressional Committee held its New York session, certain other witnesses still in the employ of Amtorg were gathered together by Amtorg officials and rehearsed as to the answers they should give. One of those present at this conference, Mr. Basil W. Delgass, vice-president of Amtorg for nearly four years, testified under oath that employees were instructed to deny all Communist activities of connections and to suppress other material evidence such as the forced contributions deducted from their salary and the collection in support of the Passaic strike conducted by Communists. This collection of funds for use in American internal affairs was, he testified, handled by Amtorg. In the plain words of the vice-president—they were tutored. Dr. Scheftel was present, likewise Mr. Boris Skvirsky, chief of the Soviet Information Bureau, Washington, D. C., and Mr. Bogdanov, head of Amtorg. Mr. Delgass, despite his four years' service for Amtorg, refused to cooperate and resigned his position. Mr. Delgass is quoted to Congress in the following language: "I did not want to participate in perjury as was done by Mr. Bogdanov and the others" (Report, page 48). In reprisal, sentence of death has been passed on Mr. Delgass and his property in Russia confiscated.

In the subsequent public hearing the answers of Amtorg officials ranged from the ridiculous to the incredible. For those familiar with Bolshevik methods it was a perfect specimen of Soviet evasion, contradiction and obstruction. Thus Mr. Bogdanov, the active head of Amtorg, admitted that he is actually a member of the Executive Committee of the Russian Communist party (New York Hearings, July 22, 1930, page 59); he also admitted that he is a member of the Executive Committee of the Soviet government (page 55, same hearing); his previous record, showing him to be a professional revolutionist of long standing, was read to him and acknowledged as correct and true (page 59, same hearing). In the hearing of July 23, 1930 (page 216) he was emboldened to assure the committee that "the Soviet government has nothing in common with the Communist party." I should like to hear Mr. Bogdanov make that statement in a loud voice before the portals of the G. P. U., Lubyanka, Moscow. To be sure, he denied that he was a Communist at the precise moment of the interrogation, having left the party just before embarking for New York! He likewise pretended not to understand or speak English sufficiently. Nevertheless, he spoke out during the hearing more than once in very good English when it served his purpose to do so. Mr. Connick will doubtless remember the several instances, as he served as legal advisor to Mr. Bogdanov during the hearings.

As a result, the Congressional Committee reporting to the House of Representatives sitting as a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, stated, in reference to Amtorg:

"A reading of the record will show that officials of that corporation were not frank and candid in answering questions, but were evasive, argumentative, and evidently sought to cover up rather than disclose the facts. In answering material questions, scarcely one of them was answered directly yes or no" (pages 47-48). One readily understands, therefore, the limited

meaning of the committee's finding quoted as follows by Mr. Connick:

"Under the rules of evidence we find there is not sufficient competent legal evidence in the record to prove the connection of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, as a body corporate, with subversive activities."

There are two important qualifications in that judgment: "*not sufficient competent legal evidence*" and "*as a body corporate*." The significance of those reservations will not escape the legal mind. Naturally Mr. Connick, as counsel for the defense, omits a later important paragraph on page 55 of the same report which states:

"There is probably no way of checking up definitely on the O. G. P. U. agents in the United States without conducting a raid or by deciphering the cablegrams sent to and from the Amtorg and Moscow."

These two statements taken together would seem to express the full mind of the committee. To cite the former without the latter may be good pleading, but it is not convincing criticism, and conveys a faint odor of that lack of objectivity so deprecated by your correspondent.

With respect to Mr. Connick's fear that the premeditated and outrageous contempt of the Congressional Committee revealed by the inquiry might be charged to his firm, I beg to point out that no such connection is anywhere suggested, directly or indirectly, in "The Last Stand." The Congressional Report, page 47, is explicit in declaring: "Its [Amtorg's] high officials, including the chairman of the board, Mr. Bogdanov; Vice-President John G. Ohl, and its resident attorney, Mr. Michael, were present." Mr. Connick also identifies Mr. Michael as the resident attorney who assisted on that occasion. What I did maintain, on the sworn, public testimony of a participant, was that witnesses were coached by competent legal experts to foil and obstruct a committee acting under congressional mandate. The Report to Congress states, on page 47: "The record discloses that it was the purpose to keep from this committee the evidence which might be damaging to Amtorg." If my description does not describe the rehearsal in Mr. Schuster's room, the questionnaire with instructions what to answer, when to answer and how to answer, and the ensuing performance of witnesses, then words have lost their meaning. That the services of Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett have been mainly directed to facilitating the entrance into the United States of Moscow's appointees has been well known for a long time. The collateral moral issue involved has been raised for the first time by Mr. Connick's letter, not by me.

Exception is taken to my criticism of the operations of the All-Russian Textile Syndicate in the Chicago Wheat Exchange, September, 1930. But on page 151 of "The Last Stand" I waive the question of motive and confine the discussion to the broader aspects of public policy. This interpretation is in complete accord with that portion of the Congressional Report, unquoted by Mr. Connick, which says:

"... The action taken by the Chicago Board of Trade prohibiting any short selling by a foreign government is obviously a step in the right direction, and if enforced will protect the American farmer from being at the mercy of some unfriendly government which might desire to depress the market in order to create discontent and promote Communism, which breeds and thrives on hard times" (page 39).

With regard to manganese there is considerable technical controversy. These complications frequently obscure the fundamental issue—which I suspect has happened in this case. One must keep his eye on the ball. A commodity produced in Russia

at a cost of \$23.97 per ton and sold in this country at \$12.50 a ton, C. I. F. Atlantic ports, is still in my opinion a "dumped" product beyond dispute. Those familiar with Russian conditions know to what lengths their leaders will go to create gold credits.

Finally your correspondent takes me to task for citing affirmatively an eminent authority, John Bassett Moore, in support of my belief that recognition of Soviet Russia is inadvisable. No man has more clearly set forth the requirements for recognition than Judge Moore in his monumental "Digest of International Law" (Volume I, pages 2-9, pages 96, 107, 148, 156, *et passim*). His reasoning applies four-square to the case of Soviet Russia and has never been successfully challenged. It has been adopted by four administrations representing both political parties in the United States, as well as by all the other republics of the Western Hemisphere with the sole exception of Uruguay. Canada has recently adopted the same sound policy of non-intercourse after an investigation lasting seven years. The Canadian government repeats the laconic judgment of Elihu B. Root who declared that relations with Soviet Russia "would be a lie." Judge Moore has never repudiated the well-founded principles of international relations defended in his "Digest." His New York speech advocating recognition of Russia is in direct contradiction of the precedents which he marshals in masterly fashion elsewhere. His formal argumentation inspires greater confidence than his *obiter dictum* at a banquet.

Perhaps Mr. Connick can reconcile the contradictions. Most of Judge Moore's admirers cannot and he himself, as far as I know, has never attempted it.

I note that Mr. Connick condemns what he "understands to be the Communist attitude toward religion." There is no need for the cautious approach; Moscow does not merely attitudinize on religion. The Soviet government is the most relentlessly active and positive persecutor of Christianity since Nero. To the voluntary offer made to defend in any way possible the principle at stake, I make candid reply. The present Soviet government is the most brutal, most anti-social, anti-Christian and anti-American force on the face of the earth. It would abolish by violence not only religious freedom and civil liberty but is particularly hostile to Article IV, Section 4, of our Constitution: "The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government. . . ."

Amtorg is the accredited public agent of this powerful alien enemy both of the United States and Christianity. I recognize how difficult it is for Mr. Connick to reduce his praiseworthy desires to practical form.

REV. EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.

COUNSEL AND VISION

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: Amongst the many remedies suggested in these days of sad depression, one cannot help feeling impressed by the counsel and vision of the Holy Father, Pope Pius XI. He has emphasized the cause of it all, greed, and the total lack of moral training. Men have forgotten the law of God, which naturally embraces the moral law, and the conscience of mankind has run riot. The Holy Father speaks to all the world. God grant that his words will be heeded and that, in unity of purpose and prayer, we will adopt the course he advocates.

ALICE WARREN.

THE COMMONWEAL requests its subscribers to communicate any changes of addresses two weeks in advance to ensure the receipt of all issues.

BOOKS

Jewry

Jews on Approval, by Maurice Samuel. New York: Live-right, Incorporated. \$2.50.

MAURICE SAMUEL thinks straight and writes well. He deals with the difficult and delicate problems of Israel in a frank and manly fashion worthy of high praise. Religion, as he truly says, is the source of cultures and civilizations, and it is his chief point that the Jews instead of trying to "assimilate" themselves to the non-Jewish societies in which they live, should on the contrary take pride in their Judaism. The reviewer shares his belief in the importance of Israel to the world and in the value of candid writing about thorny subjects.

Mr. Samuel is guilty of occasional slips. No non-Jew of half his brains could write: "A learned rabbi is the ornament of his profession; a learned priest is suspected of hypocrisy." Also it is curious to note that he seems to go out of his way in order to misunderstand a passage in the reviewer's "American Rich": Because an incident used in that book to illustrate the Jewish indifference to casual physical contacts was trivial in itself, he has failed to note that this Jewish characteristic—doubtless void of offense between one Jew and another—is a constant source of irritation to non-Jews.

Notwithstanding a few such weak spots, the book is admirable. The author has the intensity of his ancient people combined with a culture and eloquence which would be rare among any people. Although some of his personal hits are sharp, he is never spiteful or ill-mannered. Even as one chuckles over such choice bits as the story of the rabbi who, as he preached, spent a good fifteen minutes by Samuel's watch in working tears into his own eyes, one finds nothing mean or petty in the author's anger and contempt.

There are interesting sketches of Jewish leaders. In the study of Rabbi Wise the following occurs: "In an interview with Mayor Walker of New York, he heard the latter defend himself somewhat as follows: 'As even the leaders of the other party advised me that I ought to raise my own salary, what should I have answered?' Rabbi Wise replied: 'You should have answered, 'Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?'" The sketch of Brandeis begins: "A meteor flashed across the Jewish sky, rising over Boston and fading out over Washington."

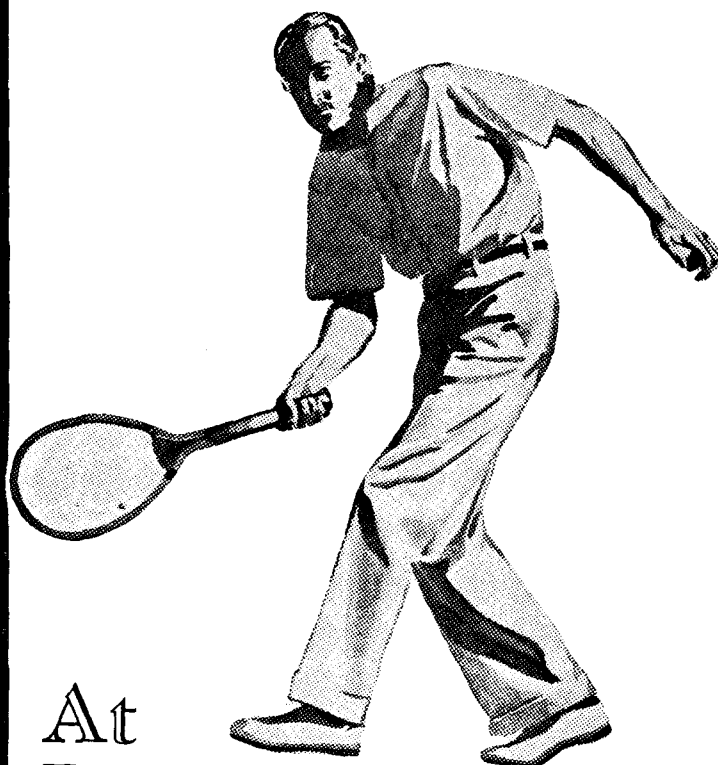
Mr. Samuel has great fun with the assimilationists. To writers like Bernard Shaw and Heywood Broun who advise the Jews to solve the Jewish problem by inter-marriage, he logically replies that neither Shaw nor Broun has coöperated to this end by marrying a Jewess.

Our author is a fervent Zionist. Without Palestine for a focal point of its distinctive culture, he sees no future for Jewry except to sink into vulgarity and mob-mindedness. "Where," he asks, "did the children of . . . assimilating Jews pick up their . . . insistent Jewishness? . . . Thousands of young men and women turned their backs on the goal after half the road had been covered. . . . The struggle between reactionary parents and revolutionary children was inverted. American parents whose children have turned Bolshevik and have gone to prison do not feel unhappier than assimilating German Jews whose children have turned Zionist and have gone to Palestine."

A few more religious reactionaries in the rising generation might help to make the world not only more intelligent but also more peaceful.

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Sea Adventure and History

On the Decks of Old Ironsides, by Elliot Snow and H. Allen Gosnell. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$5.00.

WHEN a labor of love is turned over to experts, the result is a finished job. And that is exactly what these retired United States navy officers, Rear Admiral Snow and Lieutenant Commander Gosnell, have accomplished in this chronicle of the days when

"Hearts of oak were our ships.
Hearts of oak were our men."

The core of the book consists of liberal extracts from the diaries, logs and letters of the men who sailed on the old Constitution. This gives the narrative a fine contemporaneous flavor, and in not a few instances serves to project the living figures of the men to whom Theodore Roosevelt devoted his "Naval History of the War of 1812": Preble, Hull, Bainbridge, Decatur—heroes all.

This volume is the literary memorial of the restoration of this oldest relic of an earlier navy, and comes soon after the last spar has been set and the last bit of rope coiled on her decks. This restoration, which was finally completed on July 1, 1931, was a national enterprise in the fullest sense, in that millions of pennies were collected through the school children of the country for the purpose. One hundred and thirty-seven years after her keel was laid, this glorious relic of the great days of sail started out to "fulfil" her mission of visiting "all of our harbors that she is able to enter." And so she wings her triumphant way around our coasts.

The ship's history is crowded full of colorful and thrilling events: under her first commander, Commodore Preble, who may be said to have established her tradition away back in post-Revolutionary days; the times that tried the souls of the men who fought on her through the war of 1812; her voyage around the world later under command of "Mad" Jack Percival; the part she bore in the Civil War, and her narrow escape from capture by the Confederates; how she carried street-cars and a locomotive to the Paris Exposition of 1879, "and very nearly crashed up on a Channel reef."

The book is to be frankly commended to all lovers of sea literature and to that ever larger body of readers, the lovers of tales of adventure.

JOSEPH LEWIS FRENCH.

The Savage Critic

The Apes of God, by Wyndham Lewis. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company. \$3.00.

THERE are today in England few more baffling writers than Mr. Wyndham Lewis; baffling not as to basic content but as to the manner in which the content is set forth. Mr. Lewis who has so much to say, and who can, when he wishes, say it so admirably, seems determined to destroy half his effect by an utter disregard of restraint of writing or selection of material. He writes and writes and writes until the reader's brain swims and he refuses to read more. It is a pity, for Lewis is really on the right road in his criticism of modern vices and foibles, and he refuses to bow the knee to the current decadence of thought and emotion. If he were only a little less bitter he would be far more effective, for his bitterness and indignation forces badly his sense of proportion and he clubs, cuts and shouts with equal fervor at tiny foibles or disintegrating vices. His vitality is extraordinary, his wit mordant,

his power of expression unique, and if he possessed only a tiny grain of self-criticizing humor he would be one of the truly salutary forces in modern English letters. He hates the effeminacy, the smartness, the desolating lack of humanity which inspires so much of what passes for important writing and thought, and he gives it no quarter, but in the process he gives his admirers little quarter as well.

"Apes of God" contains passages which are truly superb, and then again far longer passages which are a weariness to the flesh. In it he undertakes to satirize the Bloomsbury Group, a little literary cenacle, which despite its talent symbolizes what is most debilitating in current English literature. That there is power in his satire is certain, and that at the end he leaves the decadence and effeminacy of Bloomsbury pretty flat is undeniable, but his anger seems often employed in too mighty a fashion. The sexual aberrations of some of the members of this group are undoubtedly worthy of chastisement, but Mr. Lewis does seem to consider these abnormalities rather more important than they really are, and at times even takes a perverse pleasure in dwelling on them and describing them. To call him a twentieth-century Swift is going a little too far, for Swift never struck except when the striking was both quick and deadly. In short Lewis seems obsessed with the specter of sexual degeneracy, and lashes out at extremely minor figures as lustily as at persons who are really important and dangerous. A sympathetic and courageous editor is what Wyndham Lewis needs. His anger and seriousness of purpose are welcome and badly needed. His standards are the right ones, but his manner of expressing them is unfortunately tinged with the very lack of standards which he assails.

GRENVILLE VERNON.

A Catholic Princess

Crusade for the Anemone, by Princess Marthe Bibesco. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.00.

THIS is a rare book, one with flavor. Now of course it is a truism that a book with a flavor will be liked only by those who appreciate its particular flavor. In our democratic country, where literature has besides a liaison with the economic advantage of appealing to the demos, style is prone to be reduced to the simplest and most utilitarian reporting. This is tasteless and, like cheap commercial bread, has curiously a large circulation because it is tasteless. These reflections, I hope, do not reflect literary snobism, because these things are all merely peculiarities of life, phenomena, and have little to do with the fundamental nobilities that are defined in the beatitudes and are the common heritage of every child in the world.

So there is very little to say about this book beyond that if you like its style, you will like it extremely. It is in the line of the books of those brilliant Frenchwomen who were great writers of letters and of memoirs. It has their brilliance, intimacy and delicacy. And it is written by a woman who is not only clever but also spiritual. That makes it doubly a rarity and doubly unlikely that there are many readers who would appreciate it. Writing from the scenes of the life that has most influenced our lives, the author gathers poesies from all over the world, from up and down the lanes of history, from the paths of her own reminiscences, and from quiet, sheltered, well-loved places there. It is not serious, logical thinking but it reflects the swift, sensitive intuitions of a feminine mind that is an honor to the feminine. The translation seems accurate and to convey subtleties very well.

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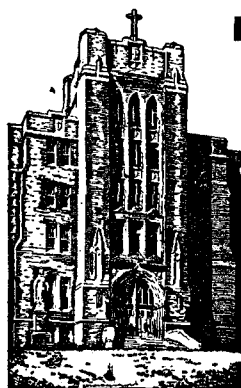
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NEW YORK, N. Y.CATALOGUES, MAGAZINES, BOOKS
AND COMMERCIAL PRINTING**Briefer Mention***Color of Steel*, by Louise Crenshaw Ray. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press. \$1.50.

THE WOMAN poet notoriously tends to sing of her own heart and its adventures, particularly its pains, and to have little awareness of the rest of the world and its problems. Louise Crenshaw Ray takes a decisive step beyond this narrowing tradition, yet so strong is innate feminine preoccupation that with one possible exception her purely personal utterances are more successful than her adventures in local or social documentation. It is not clear whether "But Still Intrepid Icarus" is to be classed as a personal or impersonal utterance, but it is easily the most effective poem in this small volume. Next in merit are such speeches of the heart as "Return," "For A Young Poet" and "The Immutable." Mrs. Ray's pictures of the glory, toil and fiery terror of the steel industry have great power of phraseology; but so intensely has she recorded the vivid things she has seen, that she has neglected to mold her almost stenographic notes into poetic rhythm. "Justice Is a Woman" is stirring and leads one to hope for more of the same sort from this poet. Too many of her sonnets and lyrics fail of effect because of trivial themes, and she is also prone, even in regular metrical lines, to leave her rhythms unfinished. Strong, regular blank verse poems with real social substance in them would seem to be the most hopeful matter for her future work.

Symphonic Broadcasts, by Olin Downes. New York: The Dial Press. \$2.50.

MR. OLIN DOWNES has written an interesting book of program notes on more than a hundred orchestral works. These notes are revamped from radio talks, given in connection with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra concerts. Such a book as this is necessarily incomplete, yet it accomplishes its purpose satisfactorily. It is not a book of criticism in the strict sense of the term but rather an intimate, personal discussion of composers and certain of their works. Sometimes one finds rare insight into the lives of composers as evinced by the orchestral number under discussion. Or again one becomes acquainted with an individual man as he appears to Mr. Downes apart from his music. And this discerning critic has never been a man to mince words in expressing his opinion, whether it be to praise or to censure. "Symphonic Broadcasts" is not in the least academic nor technical and should therefore be of special interest to those for whom music is not of professional interest.

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